

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214)  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)  
SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR (TBS)  
EM

DATE: 11/14/73

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SP1AG/CUR  
#281774

Re San Francisco letter 10/30/73.

The September 1973 issue of "The Black Scholar" (TBS) Volume V, #1, was received at the confidential mail box on 10/29/73. This issue of the magazine featured "Black Media 1".

Inside the front cover is an editorial "On Black Media," which is on TBS and states in part:

"We are sustained by the subscriptions of our individual readers. While this economy makes for spartan business and personal life styles, it also makes for satisfaction ....." This statement could account for the reduced activity of the magazine's publisher NATHAN HARE who is also president of the Black World Foundation which publishes the magazine.

Two (2) Xerox copies of an article appearing on Page 11, entitled "Toward Pan African Media Workers Unity" by DAVID G. DUBOIS, are attached for the Bureau because of its extremist and inflammatory content and interest in the author.

The author is set forth as editor-in-chief of "The Black Panther", official organ of the BPP.

Also enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of TBS for September 1973 with one copy being retained by San Francisco.

- 2- Bureau (157-20214) (Encs. 6) (RM)  
5- San Francisco  
    (2: 157-4615)  
    (1: 157-1117) (N. HARE)  
    (1: 157-8607) (D.G. DUBOIS)  
    (1: 157-7334) (BWF)

JD/amc  
(7)

ENCLOSURE

REC-69

EX-110

2 NOV 19 1973

FIVE

DEC 13 1973

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

JD/amc  
SF 157-4615

San Francisco is placing Xerox copies of the article in DAVID G. DUBOIS file.

Future issues of TBS will be reviewed and copies promptly sent to the Bureau.

# TOWARD PAN-AFRICAN MEDIA WORKERS UNITY

by DAVID G. DU BOIS

THE CONSPIRACY of the Establishment media to control the exchange of information between the Black Revolution in the U.S. and the African peoples must be exposed and circumvented. This can be done, despite the power and wealth of the Establishment media on the one hand and the many difficulties facing the Black Revolution and the African peoples on the other.

Newspapers are of primary importance in providing news and news analysis on a regular basis. When properly edited, they are a vital means of political education and organisation for wide sections of people. In most African countries newspapers are passed from hand to hand, one paper being read by several people or families. Those who are literate traditionally read the papers to those who are not. Much faith is put in what appears in print. Therefore, the source of the newspaper's information is of vital importance.

It is from the round-the-clock services of the Associated Press (AP) and the United Press International (UPI) in the United States, Reuters News Agency in London or Agence France Presse in Paris that the majority of newspaper editors on the continent of Africa

receive the bulk of their foreign news, including that of the Black Revolution in the U.S. It is from these same sources that the Black Revolution receives the great bulk of its news and analyses of the African Revolution. In no area of the media is the conspiracy more operative or more important than in the work of these "international" wire service agencies.

Genuine revolutionary and people's movements and sentiments exist in rapidly growing strength in all the non-revolutionary, Third World nations, among all its peoples. This is true because colonialism and/or neo-colonialism, in collaboration with national reaction, still rules these nations and peoples. These movements exist and grow because they reflect, defend and promote the most cherished aspirations, hopes and desires of the depressed masses of farmers, workers, the illiterate, students and honest upper strata of their societies. The bosses of the Establishment media, in the service of world imperialism, know this and use the giant media machinery they have built to prevent the rest of us from knowing it. Consequently, where possible revolutionary movements of the Third World nations and peoples are kept ignorant of the existence, activities, ideologies and victories of each other. They are deliberately misinformed about those activities and events that cannot be altogether ignored. And, through the many, highly developed tactics of slanting and misrepresentation, the Establishment media attempts, often with temporary success, to turn such information as they do transmit into pro-imperialist, pro-neo-colonialist and anti-revolutionary propaganda.

DAVID G. DU BOIS, who returned to the U.S. recently after thirteen years in Africa, is currently lecturer at the School of Criminology, University of California, Berkeley, and Editor-in-Chief of *The Black Panther*, official organ of the Black Panther Party. In Egypt and Ghana he worked as a journalist and editor as well as newscaster and program writer for radio. *And Bid Him Sing*, a novel based on his experiences in Africa is due for publication in September by Ramparts Press.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SPAG/UK

137 - 11

The obvious purpose of this effort is to promote and foster the lie within every indigenous revolutionary movement — many of which are small and weak — that it is alone and without allies; that its efforts are doomed to failure; that it is wasting its time. A second purpose is to strengthen the hand of indigenous reactionary leaders in their efforts to isolate and crush their revolutionary elements and maintain power.

The fact is that African nations depend almost solely on the wire services of the Western, capitalist countries for their immediate, daily news of what's going on outside their own borders. The only exception to this is Egypt whose Middle East News Agency has wire service connections with the Arab countries and the Sudan and some European capitals. It has bureaus as far afield as New Delhi and Ceylon, and London and Dakar.

**U**NDER COLONIALISM African countries were supplied with telecommunication facilities between themselves and the capital of the colonial power: Ghana with London, Algeria with Paris, Libya with Rome, Egypt with London, Kenya with London, Congo with Brussels and Guinea with Paris, etc. The chief purpose of these links was the speedy transmission of commercial, stock market, and banking information, advice and instructions back and forth to facilitate the exploitation of the African peoples' riches. At the same time, as a press developed, news, mainly economic and political, bearing on the particular natural resource or resources being exploited, was supplied from the capital for the local, i.e. colonial press, and "African" news of the same character was supplied to the capital for its press.

The U.S. wire services were late comers. After World War II in collaboration with the already established Africa-Europe links, the Associated Press and the United Press International located permanent bureaus for the gathering and distribution of news in major African capitals.

This was the situation when the African countries won or were granted their political independence. And, in the main, it remains the

situation today. The local African press, whether African owned or foreign owned, is accustomed to relying on and handling, first, the wire service material from the former colonial power and secondly, that supplied by the two U.S. wire services.

Individual African governments in their present stage of development cannot locate an army of foreign correspondents in the capitals of Africa. (A United States of Africa could!) Most of these governments, lacking a revolutionary, Third World consciousness and thus operating on cart-before-the-horse priorities, argue that they cannot afford the cost: "Telegraphic services are expensive, doubly so to and from the African continent. The 'international' wire services provide what we need," they maintain. They cap this argument with: "Our primary concern is with our internal problems. Our press must place its emphasis here." Those African nations with a relatively recent indigenous press do not have the trained or experienced personnel for such assignments. They need every journalist they have, or are likely to train soon, at home. And, those that have a relatively long tradition of an indigenous press (Egypt, Nigeria) argue that the expense does not justify itself. Faced with mountainous problems left by colonialism and aggravated by neo-colonialism, these nations find that they can easily fill the pages of their newspapers with national news. Foreign news, they assert, must have some direct relevance otherwise there is no room.

Where is the African press going to receive news and analyses of the Black Revolution in the U.S.? From the Associated Press and the United Press International. When there are major explosions, big news, Reuters in London and the Agence France Presse in Paris, using reports of their correspondents in the U.S., may send out reports to those who use their services in Africa. Every line sent by AP and UPI from the U.S. to Africa on the Black Revolution is the result of very careful editing calculated to do as little damage as possible to the U.S. image in Africa. Reuters generally follows the U.S. lead. The Agence France Presse shows some independent courage on this score, but is limited by the demands placed on its correspondents in the U.S. and its

distribution within Africa. It must be emphasized however, that if it is not big news, that is, news that by its nature breaks through the Establishment control, or if it is news of a victory, the African press is not likely to get it at all.

*No news about the Black Revolution in the U.S. is sent to Africa that hasn't been put through the Establishment wringer, wrung out and dried.*

NEWSMEN AND JOURNALISTS of the African countries, among whom are some of the best brains and most devoted partisans of the Third World Revolution, are eager for *any* news of the Black Revolution in the U.S. They know it is in process of developing. And, they know how vital its success is to the struggles of the peoples of Africa and the world for genuine and total independence and human progress. They know their readers devour such news. Many know how important it is for themselves and their readers to understand this aspect of the common struggle. Consequently, they want to place in their papers every scrap of information they can receive. But, most workers in the media in African countries are not so stupid as to swallow whole the information and analyses on the Black Revolution attained through the Establishment media. The result is that they try to sift the truth from the lies, the straight line from the slant and throw out the analysis. What appears in their press after this process, if anything, is an inevitably distorted fraction of what was received. There are those pressmen and editors on the continent who do not yet fully understand the utter lack of credibility of the U.S. wire services on the Black Revolution. These print the story as it comes, dropping the obvious analysis, but failing to do anything about the concealed analysis: the slanting, the distorted emphasis, the choice of words, etc.

The African press has no source for complete, up-to-the-moment, accurate news and information of the Black Revolution in the U.S. What information it receives through U.S. newspapers and periodicals arrives too late to be considered news. By that time its readers are hearing on shortwave transistor radio sets

of some new development, which makes that of a week earlier dead news. No newspaper can publish dead news. There is no proliferation of weekly or monthly periodicals in the African countries (with the exception of Egypt) in which the accumulated materials could appear as informative and analytical articles. And, even where such periodicals exist the great bulk of the accumulated material on the Black Revolution is Establishment-produced: "The New York Times," "The Washington Post," "Newsweek," "Time," etc. etc.

On the other hand, those media workers in the Black Revolution in the U.S. or sympathetic to it have almost solely the Establishment wire services and media as their source for news, information and analysis of day to day developments on the African continent. That army of Establishment correspondents that swarms over Africa depends for its bread and butter on meeting the demands, prejudices and interests of their editors in plush offices atop New York City skyscrapers. Even the attempts of some few to report honestly from the continent get twisted beyond recognition by these arm-chair editors. Periodically there are indignant resignations of Establishment correspondents in the field in protest against what a New York editor has done to his or her story. In far more cases, less courageous foreign correspondents shift from one newspaper to another, from one periodical to another in search of an editor that will print what they write like they write it. If this is true for the general coverage of events and developments in Africa, how much truer it must be for the revolutionary developments on the continent.

IT IS ESSENTIAL that media workers in and close to the Black Revolution in the U.S. develop ways and means of regular exchange of information with African media workers in every category, including Freedom Fighters and militant revolutionaries. Ten years working in the media in Egypt and for a time in Ghana has made me acutely aware of this need from the African continent's point of view. A growing awareness of the ignorance,

misconceptions and distortions about Africa rampant among black revolutionaries in the U.S., revealed as I encounter them here on the continent, reinforced my awareness of this need from the point of view of "my native land."

In the pursuit of this search the following considerations should be kept in mind:

1. It is we who determine what is important news and information for transmission, not the Establishment media. Everything a revolutionary body is doing (that can be revealed without a threat to security) is important.
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the background as it happens the Establishment media's lies and distortions can be exposed.

4. Direct contact between editors and media workers must be established and maintained.
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A creative, revolutionary approach must be taken by media workers in the States and in Africa, separately and jointly, in order to overcome this problem of communication. Every organisation or group, no matter how small, no matter what its particular area of struggle and no matter how limited its resources, that claims revolutionary consciousness, must turn some measure of attention to this problem. If this is done the conspiracy I have in brief described above can be defeated and our ultimate victory brought nearer.

**THE BLACK SCHOLAR** has been receiving manuscripts from many black writers.

Any black writer or scholar submitting a manuscript, should observe the following guidelines:

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Submit manuscripts to:  
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Box 903 • Sausalito • Calif. 94965

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Box 909 • Sausalito • Calif. 94965

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214)

DATE: 9/6/73

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615)

SUBJECT: "THE BLACK SCHOLAR" (TBS)  
EM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SP1AG/UK

Re San Francisco letter dated 6/17/73.

The May-June, 1973 issue of "The Black Scholar" (TBS), published by the Black World Foundation, was received at the confidential mailbox on 8/31/73. The wrapper is postmarked 8/23/73 at Sausalito, California.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of the May-June, 1973 issue of this magazine. Also enclosed is the wrapper showing that the May-June, 1973 issue was mailed at Sausalito, California, on 8/23/73.

A fifth copy of the magazine is being retained by San Francisco.

This issue features "The Black Child". A review of the articles published in this issue are not believed sufficiently militant or inflammatory to be noteworthy.

It is noted that NATHAN HARE is still the Publisher of this magazine.

-v-105

REC-39

157-20214-31  
12 SEP 10 1973

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)  
3 - San Francisco  
    (1 - 157-7334) (Black World Foundation)  
    (1 - 157-1119) (N. HARE)  
JD/shd (S-6)



5010-108

7 SEP 17 1973

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214)

DATE: 6/27/73

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-76522)

SUBJECT: "THE BLACK SCHOLAR"  
EM

Re San Francisco letter to Bureau, 4/4/73.

"Letter to the Editor" of above-captioned publication, by DON ANDREWS, Riverside, California, indicates that DON ANDREWS identical to Bufile 100-463020. ANDREWS is a member of the Youth Socialist Alliance at Riverside, California.

ANDREWS refused interview by Bureau Agents 4/20/73.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SP1AC/CLK

REC-50

2 JUL 2 1973

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-4615) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles
- CGM/gcw
- (4)

FIVE

JUL 18 1973



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (157-4615) DATE: 6/7/73

FROM : *C. J. F.* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR (TBS) EM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SP1A/Cek

Re San Francisco letter 4/20/73.

The March-April Volume 4, #6 and #7 issue of The Black Scholar (TBS), published by the Black World Foundation was received at a confidential mail box on 5/22/73. It is noted that this particular issue combines two issues into one issue of the magazine.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of the March-April 1973 issue of this magazine with the fifth copy being retained by San Francisco.

Issue features "Black Woman's Liberation." A review of this issue of the magazine reveals that none of the articles are sufficiently inflammatory or militant to be noteworthy.

- 2- Bureau (157-4615) (Encs. 4) (RM)  
2- San Francisco (157-4615) (157-7334) (BWF)

JD/amc  
(4)

REC-21

ENCLOSURE

EX-104

157-20214-21  
5 JUN 11 1973

FIVE



5010-108

53 JUN 19 1973

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214) DATE: 4/20/73

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR (TBS)  
EM

Re San Francisco letter, 4/4/73.

The February, 1973, issue, Volume 4, #5, of "The Black Scholar" (TBS) became available on 3/27/73.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four copies of this magazine with one copy being retained by San Francisco.

The February, 1973, issue features "Pan-Africanism (III) The Caribbean". The feature article is a first hand report on "The Cuban Revolution" by two staff writers of TBS, ROBERT CHRISMAN and ROBERT L. ALLEN. The article discloses that these two individuals were part of a delegation of 12 Afro Americans who traveled to Cuba to study the progress made by the Cuban revolution. From an extremist or inflammatory point of view the article is not of material significance.

Two xerox copies of the following articles are attached for the Bureau because of their extremist and inflammatory content:

Page 16

"Jamaica" The Myth Of Economic Development And Racial Tranquility" by HAROLD CAMPBELL, a student at York University in Toronto, Canada. (Two extra copies of this article are enclosed for the Bureau in the event the Bureau desires to furnish same to the RCMP).

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - WFO (RM) (Encl 2)
- 5 - San Francisco (157-4615)
  - (1 - ROBERT CHRISMAN)
  - (1 - 100-61431) (ROBERT L. ALLEN)
  - (1 - 157-721) (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

JD/kle

(9) S6

58 MAY 15 1973



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SPAG/Cuk

ENCLOSURE

REC-32

157-20214-28

5 APR 30 1973

SF 157-4615  
JD/kle

Page 41  
"Marxism-Leninism And Nkrumahism" by  
STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Page 49  
"The Black Scholar Interviews: A Black  
Expatriate In Cuba"

Also enclosed for the Bureau are two xerox copies  
of an editorial inside the front cover entitled "Pan-African  
And The Caribbean".

Enclosed for WFO are two copies of the article  
by STOKELY CARMICHAEL set forth above as WFO is office of  
origin on CARMICHAEL.

San Francisco will continue to follow and furnish  
future issues of TBS as they become available.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214) DATE: 4/4/73

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: "THE BLACK SCHOLAR"  
EM

The January, 1973, issue of "The Black Scholar", Volume 4, Number 4, became available on 3/8/73.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four copies of this magazine with one copy being retained by San Francisco.

The January, 1973, issue features "The New Black Bourgeoisie". Feature articles appearing in this issue are by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, NATHAN HARE and HOWARD MOORE. Enclosed for the Bureau are two xeroxed copies of the following articles:

Page 2

"The Crisis of the Black Bourgeoisie"  
by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Page 32

"The Revolutionary Role of the Black Bourgeoisie"  
by NATHAN HARE

Page 59

"Letter to the Editor"  
by DONALD ANDREWS, Riverside, California

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)  
2 - Los Angeles (157- ) (D. ANDREWS) (RM) (Enc. 2)  
6 - San Francisco  
    (1 - 157-4324) (E. CLEAVER)  
    (1 - 157-1119) (N. HARE)  
    (1 - 157-7334) (BWF)  
    (1 - 157-6708) (H. MOORE)  
JD/plr (S-6)  
(10)

EX-111

REC-40



5010-108

5 APR 12 1973

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



SF 157-4615  
JD/plr

The article by HOWARD MOORE is not believed to qualify as sufficiently extremist or inflammatory.

Enclosed for Los Angeles are two copies of the published letter by DONALD ANDREWS of Riverside, California. These three items are considered to be inflammatory or extremist. ANDREWS' letter displays a Marxist understanding and expressed black revolutionary aspirations.

For the information of Los Angeles, "The Black Scholar" is a magazine which publishes militant articles and is published by "The Black World Foundation" (BWF) monthly except July and August. Printed material of the BWF states that the BWF was formed...to begin the shaping of a revolutionary black culture.

San Francisco will promptly furnish future editions of "The Black Scholar".

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR FBI (157-20214)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR  
EM

DATE: 3/8/73

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 3/5/73.

Three (3) additional copies of "The Black Scholar" for November-December, 1972, were purchased from the Black World Foundation, Sausalito, California. The Bureau has ordered that four copies of each issue be forwarded to the Bureau. One copy was sent with referenced letter and three additional copies are enclosed.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SPAG/CUR

1cc of let + 1cc of Encl.  
Room 6220

REC-3

2 - Bureau (Encs. 3) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-7334) (Black World Foundation)  
JD/sad (S-6)  
(4)



5010-108-02

58 MAR 23 1973

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

16 MAR 12 1973

FIVE  
FIVE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

DATE: 3/5/73

REC-106

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR  
EM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SPAG/cue

Re San Francisco letter, 2/1/73.

The November-December, 1972 issue of "The Black Scholar" (BS), published by "The Black World Foundation" (BWF), was received through the mail on 1/26/73. Only one copy of the magazine was received instead of the five copies subscribed for. A letter of complaint was written to NATHAN HARE, publisher, BS. On 2/6/73, one additional copy of the November-December, 1972 issue was received. All correspondence is through a confidential mail box.

It is felt that the office help at the BS is incapable of comprehending an order for more than one copy. It is not felt that the real recipient of the magazine is known or is the cause of the trouble receiving copies.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of the magazine and three additional copies will be secured and forwarded at a later date.

The November-December, 1972 issue features "The Black Masses".

Enclosed for the Bureau are copies of the following articles which are felt to contain inflammatory or extremist statements:

Page 3, "Lumpen Ideology", by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.  
Page 11, "Social Structure and Black Revolution",  
by Dr. C. J. MUNFORD.

2-Bureau (Encs. 7) (RM)  
2-Charlotte (157-JOHN HUDGINS) (Encs. 2) (RM)  
2-Detroit (157-JAMES BOGGS) (Encs. 2) (RM)  
2-San Francisco  
JD/sdr #S-3  
(8)

59 APR 27 1973



5010-108-01

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SF 157-4615  
JD/sdr

Page 34, "Is Birth Control Genocide?", by  
JOHN HUDGINS.  
Page 50, "Blacks in the Cities: Agenda for the  
70's", by JAMES BOGGS.

Enclosed for Charlotte are two copies of the article  
by JOHN HUDGINS.

Enclosed for Detroit are two copies of the article  
by JAMES BOGGS.

The Black Scholar is a militant magazine  
published by the Black World Foundation  
(BWF) monthly except July and August  
for the enhancement of black culture.

The BWF is self-described as "formed ...  
to begin the shaping of a revolutionary  
black culture."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214) DATE: 2/1/73

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR  
EM

Remylet 1/5/73.

The October 1972 issue of "The Black Scholar" published by the Black World Foundation (BWF) was received through the mail on 1/2/73. Instead of the five copies the sale calls for, only one copy was received. The circulation department was contacted on 1/3/73 and again on 1/17/73 to secure the additional four copies without success. On 1/30/73, the four additional copies were purchased at the offices of the BWF.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of the magazine; one copy is being retained.

The October 1972 issue features "Black Prisoners (11)".

Attached for the Bureau are Xeroxed copies of the following articles which contain inflammatory or extremist statements:

Page 3 "We Are All Prisoners of War" by MUHAMMAD AHMAD, aka Max Stanford

Page 6 "Overturning Ourselves: From Mystification to Meaningful Struggle" by RON KARENGA.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 8) ENCLOSURE
- 1 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1) (RM) (157-1409 - R. KARENGA)
- 1 - Philadelphia (Enc. 1) (RM) (157-2889 - M. STANFORD)
- 2 - New York (Enc. 1) (RM) (105-69417 - M. STANFORD)
- 4 - San Francisco
- (1 - 157-7334 BWF)
- (1 - 157-7140 J. SPAIN)

JD/jb #S-3  
(8)

FEB 7 1973

EXT. INT. SEC.

51 FEB 21 1973



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DATE 6-23-89 BY SPAC/CLK

SF 157-4615  
JD/jb

Page 18 "The ~~Black Family~~ and the Prisons"  
by JOHNNY SPAIN  
Page 41 "RUCHELL ~~MAGEE~~: Slave Rebel" by  
the Ruchell Magee Committee for  
Black Prisoners.

For information of Los Angeles, enclosed is a  
copy of RON KARENGA article entitled "Overturning  
Ourselves: From Mystification to Meaningful Struggle."

For the information of Philadelphia and New  
York, enclosed to each is a copy of the MAX STANFORD  
article entitled "We Are All Prisoners of War".

Copies of JOHNNY SPAIN's article "The Black  
Prison Family and the Prisons" is being routed  
to San Francisco's case file on SPAIN and the name  
of RUCHELL MAGEE is being indexed.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214) DATE: 1/5/73

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR  
EM

ReBulet 12/22/72.

There is no unusual delay between receipt of various issues of the Black Scholar and submission to the Bureau.

Three specific examples that illustrate the cause of the delays are as follows:

An undated letter addressed to "Dear Subscriber" was received and postmarked in August 1972 from the Black World Foundation, publishers of the Black Scholar. This letter in a post script advised that "The June-Summer issue has been delayed by production problems and you should be receiving it within three to four weeks after this letter."

The promised "June-Summer" issue, which was labeled only "Summer 1972", set forth in part inside the front cover that the subscription list was changed from metal plates to computer files. Also set forth was the following: "Making the transition was, frankly, a painful and tedious process which consumed much of the time of our limited staff and thus delayed the production and mailing of this June-Summer issue. We apologize for whatever inconvenience this transition may have caused you."

An additional problem was introduced with the advent of the computer files. Beginning with the Summer 1972 issue, the San Francisco Office received only one copy of this issue and the succeeding two issues.

Telephone calls to the Black Scholar have revealed that the first computer service utilized had only the capabilities of designating one copy to a subscriber.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco

JD/jb #S-3

(3)

57 JAN 24 1973

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5010-108-02

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY BAC/uk

REC-64  
EX-107

JAN 8 1973

SF 157-4615  
JD/jb,

A change was made to a second computer service after numerous complaints were received. The Circulation Department has promised that this deficiency will be rectified.

The September 1972 issue was not received until the end of November 1972 and then only one copy was initially mailed. This necessitated a telephone call and attendant delays for the four additional copies called for in the subscription.

The October 1972 issue of the Black Scholar was not published until the end of December 1972. A single copy was received in a confidential mailbox on 1/2/73. A telephone call was again placed to the Black Scholar Circulation Department and to date the four additional copies have not been received. It is a matter of speculation when the November and December 1972 issues will be received.

As a last example, San Francisco became a sustaining member of the Black World Foundation on 10/16/72. One of the provisions of the sustaining member is that a single copy of the Black Scholar is part of the consideration. To date, this single copy has not been received. However, an acknowledgement of the membership and receipt of payment was received on 11/3/72.

Any delay in submission of the Black Scholar is not chargeable to the San Francisco Office. San Francisco will continue to promptly submit four copies of the Black Scholar to the Bureau as they are received.



SAC, San Francisco (157-4615)

12/22/72

For the Acting Director, FBI

W. Mark Felt

Acting Associate Director

REC-140

(157-20214) - 22

1 - A. B. Fulton

THE BLACK SCHOLAR  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

ST 111

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-28-89 BY SP1AG/pk an

Reurlet 12/5/72.

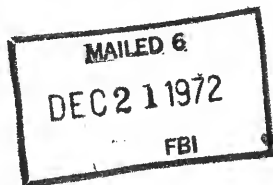
Referenced letter encloses the September, 1972, issue of "The Black Scholar." Inasmuch as this is a monthly magazine, which is received by your office through a confidential mail box, it appears that there is unusual delay between receipt of various issues of this magazine and submission to the Bureau. San Francisco is requested to advise reasons for this delay and outline in detail any difficulty they may be encountering in obtaining copies of this magazine. In the future, every effort must be made to submit this magazine to FBIHQ within 30 days after its receipt.

ABF:aso (4) *aso*

NOTE:

In view of the unusual delay that San Francisco appears to be encountering in submitting this magazine to the Bureau, we should determine the reasons therefor and any problems the San Francisco Office is encountering.

Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Baker \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Gebhardt \_\_\_\_\_  
Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_  
Marshall \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Purvis \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_  
Is. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_  
rs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_



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57 JAN 4 1973

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MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

20 DEC 1972

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214) DATE: 12/5/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR  
EM  
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco letter to Bureau, dated 10/27/72.

The September, 1972, issue of "The Black Scholar" published by the Black World Foundation (BWF), Sausalito, California, was received in 1972 and was obtained through a confidential mailbox of the San Francisco Division.

San Francisco is enclosing four (4) copies of "The Black Scholar" for the Bureau and retaining one (1) copy. A xerox copy of the article by IMAMU AMIRI BARAKA (LEROI JONES) on the Congress of African People is enclosed for Boston's information.

This issue of "The Black Scholar" is Volume 4, #1, and is self-described as a journal of "Black Studies and Research." The theme of this issue is "Black Politics, 1972." San Francisco has experienced difficulties in obtaining more than one copy instead of the four copies subscribed to. Telephonic contact with the office of the BWF determined that the subscription list has been computerized and that the first computer service utilized had only provision for designating one copy. However, a new computer service has been subscribed to, and the many complaints received will be rectified in the future. San Francisco will report on future issues of "The Black Scholar" as they are received.

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 4) (RM)
- 4 - Philadelphia (RM)
  - (2 - 157-2889) (M. STANFORD, JR.)
  - (2 - 157- MUHAMMAD AHMAD DEFENSE COMMITTEE)
- 2 - New York (88-10460) (MAX STANFORD, JR.) (RM)
- 2 - Boston (157-1565) (CAP) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 6 - San Francisco
  - (2 - 157-4614)
  - (1 - 157-7334) (BWF)
  - (1 - 100-61431) (R.L. ALLEN)
  - (1 - 157-8338) (G. BEVIEN)
  - (1 - 100-44250) (A. ROSS)

JD:lcj #S-3  
(16)



5010-108

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SF 157-4615

JD:lcj

The September, 1972, issue inside the front cover set forth additions and changes to the Board of Directors of the BWF and on the staff of "The Black Scholar."

ROBERT L. ALLEN and GLORY BEVIEN were added to the Board of Directors of the BWF and to the staff of "The Black Scholar." ALLAN ROSS tendered his resignation from the Board of Directors of the BWF, but is still on the staff of "The Black Scholar" in charge of the book club. A new 157 case has been opened to properly identify BEVIEN.

The following articles are considered inflammatory or contain extremist statements:

Page 7 sets forth "The Black Scholar Interviews BOBBY SEALE," who is described as Chairman and Co-Founder of the Black Panther Party. This article was the subject of a separate intelligence airtel on the BPP and is not being further reviewed herein.

Page 23 contained an article entitled, "Black Nationalism: 1972," by IMAMU AMIRI BARAKA (LeROI JONES). The article discusses the Congress of African Peoples objectives at the San Diego Convention. The article in brief sets forth the following:

That we are working for the world liberation of African people to self-determination, self-respect, self-reliance and self-defense.

At the base of these projections is the concept that the Continent of Africa must be transformed into a world power by a socialist economy in which the political processes are in the hands of the African masses. It would also speed the total liberation of Africans all over the world.

The small, barely efficient ingrown, finally weak community or local organizations is not sufficient to wage a really effective struggle against our enemies. The enemies are better organized. There will be no significant change in our condition until we are able to change the sobering fact. We will not achieve any positive transformation to the world, as Europeans have shaped it unless we are unified and organized in our families, our communities, our cities, our nation and our race.

SF 157-4615

JD:lcj

A major part of our work must be institution building. Simply saying we need a Pan-African party will not bring it into existence.

The frustration of militant calls for activity in the black community which just do not happen, should make it necessary for serious organizing Africanists to understand that the era of "the loaded statement" is at an end. A billion rhetorical bullets and bricks have killed too few enemies and built too few black institutions.

The creation of a unified and revolutionary black political culture is a real task at hand and one day such a party will have Pan-African International presence.

The article ends with a summary of the accomplishments of the Congress of African People.

Pages 35 and 47 set forth articles by EARL OFARI and TONI THOMAS, both self-professed Marxists in successive articles in this issue agreeing that Marxism-Leninism is the answer to black liberation.

However, OFARI is opposed to black nationalism and claims the need is for a Multi-national workers party lead by a black working class vanguard around the banner of socialist internationalism.

On the other hand, THOMAS, who is on the National Committee of the SWP, claims the proper method is to support black nationalism. He claims that this is the proper revolutionary organizational position.

Both writers agree that the goals cannot be achieved without a revolution that could destroy capitalism and result in the death of U.S. imperialism.

THOMAS describes EARL OFARI as a "recent spokesman for the former revolutionary nationalist, now anti-nationalist 'Marxist-Leninist'."

SF 157-4615

JD:lcj,

Page 58 under the caption of "MUHAMMAD AHMAD (MAX STANFORD) Arrested at CAP." The article sets forth the arrest of AHMAD, Chairman of the African People's Party by the FBI in San Diego on September 2, 1972, during the Congress of African Peoples Conference (CAP).

Set forth was the information that AHMAD is facing extradition for return to New York. A massive national defense campaign is essential to free him from the planned railroading in California and New York courts. The article stated that the black scholar will keep readers informed on developments. It noted that contributions may be sent to the MUHAMMAD AHMAD Defense Committee, P.O. Box 14003, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The "People's World," a West Coast communist weekly newspaper in its issue of November 4, 1972, set forth that a national steering committee for MUHAMMAD AHMED Defense Committee has been set up to fight AHMED's persecution. Coordinators for the defense effort at the present time are ROBERT CHRISMAN and NATHAN HARE, the editor and publisher, respectively, of "The Black Scholar."

San Francisco will continue to secure copies of "The Black Scholar" and report inflammatory and/or extremist statements contained therein as the issues are received.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214)

DATE: 10/27/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR  
EM  
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco letter to Bureau, 7/24/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four copies of the magazine "The Black Scholar," dated Summer, 1972. One copy is being retained by San Francisco.

The Summer, 1972 issue of the magazine features black music. "The Black Scholar" is published by the Black World Foundation.

A review of the articles in this issue reveals no inflammatory or extremist statements.

San Francisco will continue to furnish the Bureau with copies of this magazine as they are received.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SP1AG/cek

- 1cc 5010  
2cc 157-20214
- 1 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 4)  
3 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-7334) (The Black World Foundation)  
JD/wgs  
(5)



5010-106-01

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Nov 1

1972

EXT. INT. SEC.

Clayton

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214)

DATE: 7/24/72

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR  
EM  
OO: San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SP1A/ak

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 4/10/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four copies of "The Black Scholar", published by the Black World Foundation, dated May, 1972. One copy is being retained by San Francisco.

The theme of the May, 1972 issue of "The Black Scholar" is black battles.

One interesting feature of this issue is an inflammatory article by MUHAMMED AHMED (MAXWELL CURTIS STANFORD). STANFORD is a Bureau fugitive with New York as origin. The article, which appears on page 48 through 55 fails to set forth any lead material as to STANFORD's whereabouts. Copies of this article have been forwarded by separate letter to New York.

NATHAN HARE, the magazine's publisher, published an article on this question entitled "The Battle for Black Studies". This article analyzes HARE's role at Howard University for six years, beginning in 1961, and his experiences as head of the Black Studies Department at San Francisco State College during 1968-69. HARE, while at SFSC, was largely responsible for a "5 months strike" which ensued. The article, in part, ends with the conclusion as follows:

"Black students must help to structure a new ideology, provide models of revolutionary zeal for others, and activate and energize the black intelligentsia toward giving greater and

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)  
2 - New York (88-10460) (MAX STANFORD) (RM)  
4 - San Francisco  
(1 - 157-1119) (NATHAN HARE)  
(1 - 157-7334) (BWF)

JD/lla  
(8)



AUG 8 1972

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan.

EXT. INT. SEC.

SF 157-4615  
JD/11a

stronger direction to the people of the black captive nation in America. They must prepare themselves to become leaders, sharpen their tools and their understanding of the plight of the black race and the world. In so doing, black students will again seize the revolutionary initiative and begin the long march of a true vanguard in the making of a revolution."

San Francisco will continue to submit copies of "The Black Scholar" as they are received.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/15/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615)(P)

SUBJECT: "THE BLACK SCHOLAR"  
EM  
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco letter to Bureau, dated 1/11/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of the magazine, "The Black Scholar," dated February, 1972. One (1) copy is being retained by San Francisco.

"The Black Scholar" is published by the Black World Foundation (BWF). The magazine is a black-militant publication which is published monthly except for July and August in Sausalito, California. The publisher is Dr. NATHAN HARE, who is on ADEX.

This issue of the magazine features various schemes for obtaining black power in the U.S. Most interesting from an inflammatory nature is the blueprint for a new republic in the U.S. by IMARI ABUBAKARI OBADELE whose slave name is RICHARD HENRY, the President of the Republic of New Africa (RNA). This article is entitled, "The Struggle is for Land." His proposal is to take over the five states that comprise the Black Belt as an independent sovereignty which includes a standing army and underground guerrilla force. The author attempts to justify his actions based upon his own interpretation of international law and distortion of the amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

The article encourages individuals to form into five member units and immediately begin military training without waiting for a reply from the Republic's Defense Minister.

- ② - Bureau (Encs. 4)(RM)
- 1 - Jackson (RM)
- 2 - New Orleans (RM)
- 4 - San Francisco
  - (1 - 157-7334)(THE BLACK WORLD FOUNDATION)
  - (1 - 157-1230)(REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA)

JD:lcj #S-3  
(9)

ENCLOSURE

1972

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



REC-89

EX-112

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EXP. 11-13-72

EX-115

REC-1

157-2021-11

6 MAR 23 1972

Contents  
Article by R Henry  
Set out in SF 2/11/72  
3/15/72  
RNA  
EMD

EXT. INT. SEC.

SF 157-4615  
JD:lcj

Detracting from the article is a statement concerning the author who is President of the RNA. It tells that he has been confined to jail for murder, assaulting a Federal officer and treason against the State of Mississippi. The President of the Republic has remained in jail since 8/18/71, because of his inability to arrange \$75,000 bail. The article talks of raising millions to build new cities in the five states that will be succeeded from the USA.

A separate LHM summarizing this article is being submitted under the caption RNA.

STATE GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/10/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR  
EM  
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 3/15/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of the magazine, "The Black Scholar" dated March - April, 1972. One copy is being retained by San Francisco.

"The Black Scholar" is published by the Black World Foundation. The magazine is a black militant publication which is published monthly except for July and August in Sausalito, California. The publisher is Dr. NATHAN HARE who is on the ADEX. The March - April, 1972 issue of the "Black Scholar" features black leaders with exception of the lead article entitled, "A Critique of Black Leaders by NATHAN HARE". None of the articles in this issue are considered particularly inflammatory. NATHAN HARE is well documented by his past activities.

San Francisco will continue to submit copies of the "Black Scholar" as instructed.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-23-89 BY SP1AG/UK

2 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco

JD:jc

(4)

54 APR 27 1972



10-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

REC-109

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/16/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR  
EM

OO: San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Re San Francisco letter to Bureau, dated 1/11/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of the magazine, "The Black Scholar", dated January, 1972.

Five (5) copies of "The Black Scholar" were received by mail under the FBI subscription, using the name of ALBERT BARNES, Post Office Box 416, San Francisco, California. One copy is being maintained in the San Francisco file.

"The Black Scholar" is a black militant magazine published monthly, except for July and August, by Dr. NATHAN HARE, who is on the ADEX.

The central theme of the January, 1972, issue is "The African Struggle and White Colonialism." The articles relate almost entirely to problems, causes, and solutions to problems in Africa today. There are no inflammatory articles, and no specific calls for violent action noted in this issue.

## LEAD

### SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will continue to submit copies of "The Black Scholar" as per Bureau instructions.

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 4) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
MHG/mer  
(4)



58 FEB 29 1972

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EXTENDED BY SP8-BTS/mg  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 1/16/92

ENCLOSURE  
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED  
REC-109

FEB 22 1972

EXT. INT. SEC.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8AG/CR  
ON 6-23-89

F B I

Date: 12/22/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
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(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-23-89 BY SP1AG/AL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-7129) (C)

SUBJECT: KENNETH EUGENE DIVANS  
EM-BPP  
OO: San Francisco

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies  
of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

This LHM is being classified confidential because  
information contained therein from SF T-1, if revealed,  
could be prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.

SOURCES:

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>File Where Located</u>
SF T-1 is SF 4706-E	157-7129-1

Agent reviewing records at San Quentin Prison on  
10/4/71 was SA LANCE D. SAMUELSON.

Subject is not being recommended for Adex in view  
of his current incarceration at San Quentin Prison.

A stop has been placed with San Quentin Prison  
officials to immediately notify the San Francisco Division  
of any change in Subject's status.

EX-101  
ENCLOSURE REC-23  
② - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
CRB/lla  
(3)

7-50211-15  
I G D, I D I U, 99  
R/G 1/5/72  
5-Brooklyn

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Swans \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

51 JAN 14 1972



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

December 22, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

KENNETH EUGENE DIVANS

On September 20, 1971, source advised that Kenneth Eugene Divans, a Negro male, currently incarcerated at San Quentin Prison, has in the very recent past become associated with known Black Panther Party (BPP) members and black militants incarcerated at the prison. He stated that Divans has been involved in various altercations at the prison, and as a result of his militant tendencies, has currently been housed in the Adjustment Center of the maximum security section of the prison.

SF T-1  
9/20/71

The BPP is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the U.S. Government.

On October 4, 1971, a review of records at San Quentin Prison by a representative of the FBI revealed the following information regarding Divans:

Name	Kenneth Eugene Divans
Date of Birth	August 12, 1944
Place of Birth	Arkansas
Race	Negro
Sex	Male
Height	6'2"
Weight	152 pounds

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

KENNETH EUGENE DIVANS

Social Security  
No. 360-60-5804, 560-60-5804  
FBI No. 500 779 E  
California State  
Bureau of  
Criminal Identi-  
fication and  
Investigation No. 2328383  
San Quentin  
Prison No. B11396  
Next of Kin and  
Acquaintances Father - Boyce Divans,  
whereabouts unknown;  
Mother - Emola (nee Knox) D.  
Vaughn, Los Angeles, California;  
Sisters - Yvonne Dixon Hutchinson,  
5715 South Gramercy, Los Angeles, CA  
Wilma Divans, Los Angeles  
Girl friend - Joyce Oglesby,  
965-1/2 Marview Avenue,  
Los Angeles  
Legal Counsel Salle S. Soladay, Cheda Building,  
4th and A Street, San Rafael,  
California

Divans wrote an article in the October, 1971 issue  
of the "Black Scholar" magazine, which is as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# PRISON OR SLAVERY?

Article by [illegible] DURING AND [illegible]

Nest

Article in Oct. 1971 T.S.C.

(F. L. S. SCHOLAR MAGAZINE)

**M**EN AND WOMEN come to jail primarily because of their economic status. Over 90% of prisoners enter prison with crimes concerning obtaining money — whether it's murder-robbery, first degree robbery, second degree robbery, grand theft, petty theft, picking pockets, till-tapping, first or second degree burglary, passing checks, forgery, pimping and pandering, selling narcotics, etc. All these crimes are committed to obtain money, to secure food, clothing and shelter in some manner.

The crimes, most being petty in nature, are usually committed by the unemployed, under-employed or disabled. The people, the black and poor people who are in desperate need, seek to provide for themselves the essentials of life.

Many who read this article may disagree with the conclusions I reached above because they fail to see that the systematic educational process in this country conditions us to accept competition and imbeds within each person the desire to exploit his fellow being — to try to obtain the maximum selfish benefit for the minimum output. So, it is only natural that when forces beyond the individual's control ensnare him and impede his economical progress, he utilizes those resources at his immediate command to break through those barriers erected to his detriment.

It would be interesting to see what percentage of black men and women would be sent to prison if they were not subjected to racism and discrimination, were

granted a relevant education and an equal opportunity to prosper as other American citizens, and were spared the psychological sabotage that has been directed upon their minds.

However, black and poor people are also exploited as a class, and forced to work for slave wages. They are subjected to a luxurious society that advocates the acquiring of wealth as the means to happiness and prosperity; a society that incessantly displays a multitude of riches, yet denies them the means to acquire same; a society that makes every action a crime and yet only black and poor people subjected to prosecution.

**I**F WE ARE TO understand the prison system it is necessary to take a critical and honest look at the system as a whole as Chairman Mao states:

It is well known that when you do anything, unless you understand it's actual circumstances, its nature and its relations to other things (the part correlated to the whole) you will not know the laws governing it or know how to do it or be able to do it well.

Or be able to deal with it effectively, you dig?

White racism and materialism (private ownership) are the two components of capitalism. One component absent of the other would severely cripple, if not destroy, the capitalistic system. The prison slavery system manifests itself as the primeval



KENNETH DIVANS, co-author of this article, is one of the 26 black prisoners who were tortured and beaten in San Quentin's "adjustment center" on August 21, the day George Jackson was killed. He is being held incommunicado, but he may be reached by letter; his address is Kenneth Divans, B-11396, Tamal, Calif. 94964. Now 27, Brother Divans has spent most of his life in California prisons.

LARRY WEST is serving a sentence for kidnap and robbery. Generally acknowledged as one of the best legal minds in prison, Brother West and Ruchell Magee have collaborated on a number of legal writs. He was recently transferred from San Quentin to Folsom Prison because of his legal activity on behalf of inmates and his particular assistance of Ruchell Magee. In his words, "When you talk about August 7, 1970, that's not an escape. It's a slave rebellion."

by KAI DI KASIRIKA (Kenneth Divans)  
and MAHARIBI MUNTU (Larry M. West)

means of production for capitalism. The majority of the minority groups that overcrowd the prisons are the direct results of white racism. There is no divorce of the prison and capitalistic system as some may think. The prisons are merely one part of the exorbitant afterbirths of a backwards government and politics. In attacking the prison system, we are merely assailing one of the tentacles of the octopus, as a necessary prelude for the inevitable removal of its head, i.e., the American capitalistic system.

The prison system is a slave system. A slave is one who is held captive without freedom of choice and must labor until death or until his freedom is bought. The California prison system is a slave system, patterned after that of the original 13 colonies. The immense power wielded by this state slave system ascends to the president. From the womb to the tomb, juveniles are forced into crime and eventually become adult offenders.

It's more than a coincidence that 80% of today's prisoners started being rehabilitated at ages 11 or 12, and yet at ages 35 and 40 no rehabilitation has occurred for them. Doesn't this high percentage of state-raised prisoners attest to the fact that the system is designed to preserve a prison labor force? A prisoner (slave) is sentenced for an indeterminate term and the only sanctioned way to freedom is to work and produce — in other words, make the captor a profit. Look into the California Department of Corrections industry books, and see the

millions of dollars profited each year. The prison industries maintain a co-operative relationship with society and produce for private enterprises. How many people realize that the profits of the San Quentin prison canteen pay the yearly salaries of 133 prison employees? No prisoner is issued money, but issued ducats. All monies are deposited in an interest-earning bank account, of which prisoners never receive any share.

THE SLAVE MUST be forced to realize that every day he works he is lengthening his prison term. The majority of the California prisoners are ignorant to the fact that they have absolute power to destroy the slave prison system by not cooperating with it, by not working. The slaves en masse fail to perceive the reality of their situation i.e., SLAVERY. The prison system is a business that must profit to survive. A primary tenet of business, is that each employee must produce so many units. Any business that has more employees than units produced is headed for bankruptcy. The same principle applies to the prison slave system, therefore its very existence depends on production. This is why the prison administration thwarts prisoner worker strikes by inflating and agitating race riots. The strike is forgotten and prisoners find themselves ensnared in a racial crisis. And the slave masters' cheap slave labor force is no longer threatened by demands for higher wages, prison reforms, etc.

Finally, when one's labor has earned the system a sufficient amount of capital, he is rented out to the outside world (which is also slavery if he happens to be black, poor or both), for a week, months or years, until eventually he is brought back to the plantation (prison). This is a never-ending cycle. Indeterminant sentences, strict paroles, lack of rehabilitation facilities, sexual and financial castration, visiting and mail restrictions are the main forces that constitute this never-ending cycle of enslavement.

### INDETERMINATE SENTENCE

The abrogation of the indeterminate sentence is the first and foremost proposal that must be submitted to the legislature. This is more paramount than any facet of reform in relation to the penal system in California.

Any sane convict would prefer less time and knowing when his release is scheduled, than the various pacification and alteration programs presently being instituted in prisons.

The indeterminate sentence was initiated to give the adult authority complete power in granting and denying paroles, and as a safeguard from the possibility of a prisoner being released before he is thoroughly rehabilitated. This plan may have been plausible if it had really achieved rehabilitation. After this enactment of power to secure the "free" society, the policymakers failed to institute any meaningful facilities for the purpose of improvement. This has inevitably reduced the prison-slave system to human warehouses that do great harm and little or no good.

To the newly convicted, the indeterminate sentence is a psychological burden that blunts his motivational edge for improvement. If one is serving a five year to life term, he knows he has got to do at least three and one-half years, and who knows how much after that. This inspires him even less to participate in the quasi-programs available.

All prison terms should be set at a definite date. The prisoners — within 90 days

after commencement of sentence — should be informed exactly of his possible release date.

For further incentive, a point system should be utilized based upon work, skills, trades, educational and extracurricular prison activities. Once the time is set, the prisoner should then be informed that he can reduce his time by earning points and optimal evaluations. During the initial 90 days the prisoner's educational deficiency must be exposed and his program of prison release tailored to overcome this deficiency.

Once a prisoner comes to the realization that he, actually, is setting his own time the desire to be free will be the panacea for all prison conflict. These types of procedures will promote an optimistic attitude while simultaneously requiring a complete education, trade, etc., for an early release.

However, before anything is implemented the general attitude of the policymaker must change toward prisoners. Prisoners must be provided with humane treatment and be discerned as culturally deprived people in need of support and understanding; not looked upon as animals and maniacs, to be mutilated and twisted into formless objects.

### DISCIPLINARY

The amount and type of disciplinary actions received by a prisoner, determines when he will be paroled. The "correctional officer" (prison guard) who charges the offense that greatly affects the amount of time a prisoner may serve, has no training, and in most cases doesn't fully know the prison rules. Thus, the prisoner's action at best is whimsical but based upon this ill-trained prison guard's evaluation is the criterion used by the Adult Authority to determine whether a prisoner is fit for society.

When a prisoner is accused of violating a prison rule, (for example, stabbing another prisoner), in nine out of ten cases this is not witnessed by a guard, as most guards could not identify most prisoners in any event. When the prisoner is brought before a hearing, he is not allowed confrontation

with any of the witnesses against him or his accuser. The only defense he has is to convince a hostile prison official that he is innocent. This is close to impossible to do, as other prison officials will state that they received some "anonymous" note or other communication identifying the accused prisoner as the culprit. Under this type of setting it matters not whether the prisoner is innocent or guilty of the offense charged since he is invariably found guilty.

**H**OWEVER, EVEN before the so-called hearing, the prisoner is allowed nothing — papers, toothbrush, toothpaste, soap, etc. Under such conditions he must wait sometimes up to 30 days for the committee to convene. If the prisoner is so-called "lucky," he is found guilty and sentenced to time served. If not, he is sentenced to the hole, for any duration from 5 days to the end of his sentence, which in many cases is life.

There are a number of prisoners, including the authors, who have been in the hole for two, three, four, even five or more years, where the food is cold, grossly insufficient to sustain life; where there is no sunlight, where most days you are confined to the cell for 24 hours, and the others you are allowed out for 30 minutes to an hour, twice a week.

The mode of disciplinary hearings does much to mentally sear a prisoner as far as fairness is concerned; it substantiates the fact that racism permeates American society in and out of prison, especially when prison officials' words or statements are involved. However nothing is done to remove the programmed racism that is omnipresent, in and out of prison-slavery. To supplement the programmed racism, and to further polarize prison-slaves, the oppressive captor has invoked and utilized to maximum benefit, a class stratum, where some slaves are "permitted" more privileges than others.

#### REHABILITATION

The historical focus of the prison system has transmuted from practical punishment to theoretical rehabilitation. At present, re-

habilitation is a reality and to make it a reality entails an amount of funds, staff members, and a complete overhaul of the prison system, which the state refuses to provide.

More psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists and relevant programs relating to existing occupations in society are needed; not more prison guards, tear gas, nightsticks, strip-cells, guns, restricted diets and the like.

The prison system to effectuate rehabilitation, must be operated on a basis conducive to the modes of existing cultures, based upon the theory that a man will be back unless properly trained. The idea of punishment must be completely liquidated. The main purpose of rehabilitation is to prepare one for return to society. Therefore, we find it necessary for the prisoner to keep in contact with those whom he will affiliate with and relate to on his return to the community. It is impracticable (blinking reality) for prisoners to be completely alienated from society-free people for years in a microcosm of madness and sickness, then returned to society and expected to function as normal people.

This contradiction is manifested by the reality that the prisoners most likely to gain parole (in a minimum amount of time) are the ones who adapt to the autocratic rule of the prison — those who so-called adjust by becoming mindless objects, robots and mechanical men — those who cease to think, because all decisions are made for them. They react to buzzers, bells, horns, whistles, etc. Those sounds relate — telegraph to the lobotomized verbehrum — when to eat, sleep, wake, go, stop, work, etc., etc. A constant reaction to these sounds generates a habitual mechanical functioning that requires little or no mental thought. It is a conditioned reflex: ring the bell — the animal reacts — the prison slave reacts. These types of prisoners, although the most likely to receive parole, are likewise most probably the ones who will fail outside the prison, because decisions are no longer made for

them. They have been programmed to a false tempo, thereby putting them out of rhythm to the beat of society. Keeping a man locked up for many years, never allowing him to make independent decisions and then flinging him unceremoniously into the free-world society is in contradiction to the rules and principles of rehabilitation.

### SEXUAL AND FINANCIAL CASTRATION

The California correctional institutions (prison-slave camps) have broken up thousands of families because of their maximum restrictions. Among them is conjugal contact. At present, the prison system has mildly relented in this direction with the advent of conjugal visits restricted to married men only, in certain privileged institutions. Actually a class system is used, for only a few prisoners have this privilege, and it is held as a shining example to married slaves, as to what the future holds (in slavery) for those obsequious slaves. In short, the conjugal visit is used as a lever by the oppressor to control.

The conjugal visit privilege should not be restricted to married men, but should extend to all men. For what is marriage but a piece of unfeeling paper that expresses nothing? Love needs no certification; nor does a sexual act between man and woman, for only they enjoy the fruits of their labor and reap the reward.

The system purports to frown upon homosexuality. Yet its very insular rules breeds what it allegedly seeks to stamp out. All men should have the right to unity with his so-called common-law wife, or any consenting female. (The same applies to female prisoners.) Sexual intercourse between man and woman is essential as life itself. The separation of man from woman is one of the greatest inhumanities to man and woman because it denies man the very creature that makes him whole and complete, and no man should be subjected to this emasculation, regardless of his crime. Not only has the ban on sex broken up families on the outside but has created more problems inside prisons. Young prisoners are constantly harassed, attacked,

raped and forced into homosexuality for merely the sexual gratification. Prisoners also lie, cheat, steal and kill over homosexuals or potential bed partners.

Another home wrecker is the financial castration of convicted men. Prisoners should have the opportunity to support their families while in prison. Hence the wages in the prison factories, and other prison facilities should be tantamount to the federal minimum wage. This would enable prisoners to make allotments to their families, thus maintaining their status as the bread-winner.

Sexual and financial castration are the two components of home-wreckers. When a man is convicted and sent to prison, his woman or wife, must and will continue her sex life and find a suitable breadwinner for the family. Prisoners should be allowed to maintain their responsibilities as providers and continue their sex life. These are the two components essential for his manhood. Should a prisoner be denied his manhood because he is a prisoner?

### VISITING AND MAIL RESTRICTIONS

Various programs must be established to keep prisoners active and in contact with the outside world. The restrictions on correspondence and visits should be completely abolished. At present, the strictness on mailing and visiting impedes the prisoners right and desire for expression, foils the establishing of any new relationships and prohibits the receiving of services from outside agencies.

**T**HE PRESENT PRISON system is designed to keep and hold a prisoner incommunicado by placing restrictions upon his mailing and visiting. What type of prison system refuses to allow a prisoner to write a person he doesn't know simply because he is in prison? Surely not a system that purports to be preparing a prisoner for re-entry into society, yet denies, obstructs and stymies the prisoners' contacts with free world society. Prison officials redundantly state that the reason prisoners are prohibited from

writing anyone is because they are protecting society. However, such statements negate the facts that 98% of all prisoners are eventually released back to society. Hence, if you can't trust a prisoner to write, how can you permit him back into society? A large portion of insecurity derives from having little or no one to communicate with and meaningfully relate to.

Also, there is the legal mail problem. The prison guards should not be allowed under any circumstances to censor or handle the mail (legal or personal) as is presently done. Usually the guards that censor and deliver the mail are the very guards that the prisoner is filing a complaint against. Further, when involved in court action the attorney general and other legal adversaries obtain copies of prisoners' legal documents before the court does (without his permission). In a lot of cases the prisoners' legal mail never gets to court, especially when he has a winning case, and no outside help. Prison officials, acting on orders of the attorney general, etc., will shake down (search) prisoners' cells and take writs, lawbooks and other legal documents. A lot of writs and cases are allegedly lost by the prison officials who are conspiring with the attorney general. Prison officials should not be allowed to tamper with prisoners' mail and legal property because prison officials are the prisoners' adversaries. The only way to stop this is to take the mail completely out of the prison personnel's hands and authority. A federal postal employee should pick up and deliver all mail.

The restrictions on books, newspapers and correspondence courses should also be abolished. Most prisoners like to read books of a relevant nature. But prison officials frustrate prisoners' efforts to obtain meaningful reading material, and put at the prisoners disposal, Christian Science newspapers, San Quentin newspapers, sex books and westerns. It is ironic that a prisoner has unimpeded access to such tools of destruction as dope, homosexuality, knives, guns, narcotics, etc., but it is ex-

tremely difficult for him to obtain a good book.

### ERADICATE THE SLAVE SYSTEM

Today the rallying cry is, "free all political prisoners," although a more apt description is "free the slaves." A political prisoner is one whose ideology has brought him into combat with the oppressor, while a slave is one whose environmental factors cause him to be oppressed. We have previously defined a slave as one held captive without freedom of choice who must labor till death or his freedom is bought.

Our plight is exactly that of a slave. Our purpose is to awaken the people that their idleness indicates their approval of the enslavement of their friends, family and loved ones. Until the true situation of these enclosed microcosms is apparent, only then will any meaningful moves be implemented to liberate the slaves. For none should deny that as long as he does not know that he, his family, friends or loved ones are slaves, there will be no will to resist. We must not overlook that the only thing necessary for the triumph of evil, exploitation and subjugation, is that the conscientious people do nothing.

IN ALL CASES, theory must precede action and knowledge must precede both. The prison slave system must be opened, exposed and eradicated. The first step to attainment is to elevate the consciousness of the people. Who among you dares to quarrel with the maxim, "he who controls minds — has very little to fear from bodies?" The speediest and surest way to annihilate this prison system is to quit cooperating with it. Too many poor, oppressed, and innocent people are falling victim to slavery because those charged with the responsibility of promoting the general welfare are sending that much needed at home tax dollar abroad to launch the offensive, to exploit, to subjugate, and when the need arises, exterminate.

It is no accident or coincidence that in the height of financial crisis, the prison-slave camps are being inundated with the

poor, the black, the minorities of all levels and ideologies. It is no haphazard occurrence that all black and reform advocating leaders are being exiled, imprisoned or murdered. Throughout history, the weakest groups were the first eliminated. We, the poor and black are at present the weakest and least organized. This unorganization of the poor and black people is best evidenced

by our numbers in prison slavery, and also by the amount of time we must spend there, away from our families, friends and loved ones.

Whatever artificial barriers you have erected in your mind about the good of prisons, we hope this article has enlightened you sufficiently as to leave no doubt that *prison is slavery*.

## THE BLACK SCHOLAR PRISONERS' FUND



Your \$10.00 contribution will buy at least one black prisoner — and his friends — a year's subscription to THE BLACK SCHOLAR.

You will provide black prisoners with 10 issues of rich, informative reading on the major political and cultural issues of black America. Invest in a black prisoner's freedom. Buy him a subscription to THE BLACK SCHOLAR. THE BLACK SCHOLAR PRISONERS' FUND will place your subscription with one of the many black prisoners who have requested subscriptions to THE BLACK SCHOLAR but cannot afford it.

You will become a part of the black prison community and you will bring the outside community inside.

● MAKE YOUR CONTRIBUTION TODAY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

KENNETH EUGENE DIVANS

The "Black Scholar" magazine is a black militant magazine published monthly, except July and August, in Sausalito, California, by Dr. Nathan Hare, former professor at San Francisco State College.

A review of FBI Identification Records disclosed the following criminal record for Divans:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

10-20-72 709

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 506 779 E / , is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
SO Los Angeles Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #B-960604	4-9-63	mal mischief	sent 30 das
PD Compton Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #23254	3-25-63	forcible rape	no complaint filed
PD Compton Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #23254	4-7-63	burg non res	30 das Co Jail
SO Santa Ana Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #101623	7-4-63	CPC 647E (drk)	
PD Compton Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #23254	9-27-63	DTP	sum prob 1 yr 6 das on weekends in jail
SO Los Angeles Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #B-960604/ C-147923	10-14-64	burg	
SO Los Angeles Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #B-960604/ C-170585	12-8-64	plant cult possn etc marij	
PD Compton Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divan #23254	11-1-64	drk & salt	15 das jail
PD Compton Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #23254	11-25-64	susp robbery	

-11-

Information shown on this Identification Record represents the best information available at the time it was prepared. It is not to be used as evidence in any court of law. It is to be used for identification purposes only.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

10-26-71 700 11

J. Edgar Hoover  
Director.

2

The following FBI record, NUMBER 506 779 E, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
SO Los Angeles Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #B-960604/ C-203511	2-25-65	susp of rob	
PD Compton Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divan #23254	10-14-66	susp. grand auto theft auto theft car tampering	
SO Los Angeles Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #B-960604/C-4608 97	11-21-66	disorderly conduct/drk disturbing the peace & resisting arrest	30 das
SO Los Angeles Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #B-960604/ C-475404	12-23-66	T & DC/ drk	
PD Compton Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #23254	3-20-67	drk distrubing the peace property damage	
PD Compton Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #23254	4-8-67	susp of murder	

-12-

Information shown on this Identification Record represents the best  
available information. It is not shown or implied that the information is  
correct or that the information is not shown or implied that the information is  
not shown or implied that the information is not shown or implied that the information is

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

10-26-71 709 11

3.

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CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD Compton Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #23254	3-19-67	drk	
St Bu of CII Sacramento California CALIF	Kenneth Eugene Divans #B11396	10-20-67	burg 2nd deg with prior felony conviction 459 Penal Code	6 mos to 15 yrs
St Bu CII&I Sacramento Calif	Kenneth Eugene Divans #B11396A	10-24-67	murder second concurrent with present term/ 187 Penal Code	five yrs to 15 concurrent with present term
-13*-				

Information is provided by \* and NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are based only as investigated and  
by persons to the subject of this record.

John E. Lee